/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[177] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[7] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[7] [cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
621 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, childless.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, childless.
Miguel } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
Joaquim }
João } brothers
Antonio } (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).

•621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĭ /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĭ leaves.

[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[057] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú ✗

✗ [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/175 cont./

167 621 609 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces [531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
● 621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6),[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapũ, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right),[2] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
621
[301]
142
201
302

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely
[142] have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long strëtches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguëti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mẽgo-zõto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramõke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
167 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

S /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the KayaX-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y [199] may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B 101 Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
62 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
[619] the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[103] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
199 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

/200/

800

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large.

B 162 621 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T 361 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a

B [361] fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in

B 133 487 the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

/330 cont./

000 Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 [428] The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [599] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, komête, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.